

THE **POLISH REVIEW**

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POLISH STATEMENT ON 16 ARRESTED LEADERS

"Polish leaders—including Jan Jankowski, Polish Vice Premier and Delegate of the Polish Government in Poland, three members of the Polish "Shadow Cabinet" in Poland proper, Kazimierz Puzak, Chairman of the Council of National Unity, leaders of the four main democratic parties of Poland, and General Leopold Okulicki, last Commander of the disbanded Polish Home Army, were told by Soviet Colonel Pimenov, when invited by him for talks with Soviet Colonel General Ivanov that he guaranteed their personal safety under his Soviet officer's word of honor.

"After consulting his superiors, Colonel Pimenov at the request of Vice Premier Jankowski, gave a solemn pledge to these Polish leaders that a plane would be put at their disposal to take them to London for consultation with the Polish Government and Polish political circles.

"During the German occupation of Poland, these Polish leaders led the Polish underground movement and were responsible for the entire underground administration and the armed struggle waged by the Polish people against the Germans. They enjoyed the full confidence of the whole Polish people, who strictly followed their instructions, issued in the closest consultation with the Polish Government in London.

"It was under their leadership that the Polish nation has borne its heavy ordeal and suffered very heavy losses. The Uprising of Warsaw in 1944 was the heaviest of the blows suffered by the Polish Resistance Movement.

"The charge against these Polish leaders that they carried out clandestine sabotage activities directly against the Soviet armed forces is a complete fabrication. The Polish Home Army no longer exists. On January 19, 1945, it was disbanded by the Polish Government in London on the motion of General Okulicki himself and of members of the Polish cabinet residing in Poland. This dissolution was immediately made public. It should be recalled that already during the Warsaw Uprising Soviet authorities had raised many charges against the Polish Home Army and threatened General Tadeusz Bor Komorowski, the Commander of the Polish Home Army, along with other leaders of the Warsaw Uprising with court martial.

"These missing leaders were arrested on March 27 and 28, 1945. In spite of the anxiety felt by world public opinion regarding the fate of these 'missing' Polish leaders, in spite of numerous articles published in the press of the free world, of questions raised in the House of Commons, repeated inquiries made by British and American Governments, it was not until May 5, 1945 that the Soviet Government revealed that these men had been arrested. Until then, the Soviet Government had persistently concealed and even denied this fact.

"Notwithstanding Soviet denials, Polish political and social leaders continue to be arrested and even on occasion shot. One of the most recent arrests is that of Wladyslaw Kiernik who was for many years one of the leaders of the Polish Peasant Party, and who held cabinet

office in several Polish administrations and was imprisoned in 1930 in the Brzesc-Litewski prison."

Other arrested Polish leaders are: Stanislaw Jasiukowicz, Doctor of Economic Science, and former member of Parliament from the National Party of which he was a leader; Antoni Pajdak, a Socialist, former Deputy Lord Mayor of Cracow; Adam Bien, of the Peasant Party, who was before the war a judge in Warsaw. All the above men were members of the "Shadow Cabinet." The list continues with party leaders: Kazimierz Baginski, member of Parliament and former Secretary General of the Peasant Party; Stanislaw Mierzwa, a Cracow lawyer and leader of the radical Peasant Youth Association; Tadeusz Kobylanski of the National Party, former member of the Polish Senate and world-famous Warsaw journalist; Zbigniew Stypulkowski, lawyer, member of Parliament and famed leader of university undergraduates; Jozef Chacinski, of the Christian Democratic Labor Party, lawyer, and secretary general of the Christian Trade Unions; Franciszek Urbanski, secretary general of the Christian Farm Laborers Union since 1921 and former member of Parliament; A. Czernik, of the Democratic Party, a Cracow politician; Michalowski, a former member of the Polish Parliament; and the interpreter, Stemmler.

Jan Jankowski, the Vice Premier of Poland, is a life-long member of the Christian Democratic Labor Party. Under the German Occupation of Poland, he was put in charge of the Social Welfare Section of the Polish Underground Administration. After the Germans arrested the then Polish Government Delegate, he stepped into the latter's place and was formally appointed his successor. Carrying on until his present arrest, Jankowski has been awarded the highest Polish decoration, the *Virtuti Militari*, for conspicuous gallantry during the Warsaw Uprising.

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THE VOICE OF THE ABSENT

Memorandum on Some Aspects of a World Security Organization Submitted by the Government of the Republic of Poland to the Conference of the United Nations in Session at San Francisco in April, 1945.

THE Polish Government considers that its omission in the invitations extended to the Governments of all the other United Nations to attend the Conference opening on April 25th, 1945, in San Francisco, does not release the Polish Government from its primary duty, as the only legal Representative of the Polish Nation, to submit constructive suggestions on behalf of Poland to the United Nations at the San Francisco Conference with a view of contributing in a spirit of international collaboration to the establishment of a World Security Organization. These objectives are no less dear to the Polish Nation than to other freedom loving nations.

Throughout this war, and from its very outset the Polish Government and the Polish People have given constant proof of their attachment to the ideals and aims in the name of which the United Nations are waging this war in defense of human freedom and of the independence of Nations.

Poland was the first to oppose armed resistance to German aggression. Ever since, the Polish Armed Forces, in Poland and abroad, under the direction of the Polish Government, continue actively to fight against the common enemy on land, on sea and in the air. The Polish Nation has not had a single Quisling.

Conscious of its responsibility to the Polish Nation, which is deeply attached to its traditions of allied loyalty, of love of peace, and ever faithful to its secular policy of constructive international collaboration,—the Polish Government submits to the United Nations in Conference at San Francisco the following considerations and suggestions:

I. CONSIDERATIONS

A. At the close of this unprecedented total war the entire Polish Nation and undoubtedly every man and woman the world over sincerely crave for a just and secure peace settlement founded on the permanent harmonious functioning of a world security organization led and guaranteed by the Big Powers in full and willing collaboration with the smaller ones.

B. For more than five years freedom loving peoples have all been fighting relentlessly, the weak and the strong, the military and the civilians, to make possible the establishment of a better world founded upon the principles of freedom and justice, free from wars of conquest, from oppression of the weak by the strong; a world in which power would be used only as a last resort to maintain and defend the rights and liberties of man, but never to suppress them.

C. In civilized countries all citizens are equal before the law. In a civilized world all nations, as groups of individuals, must be equal before the law and juridically equal amongst themselves, regardless of their size, importance or power.

D. The inequality which exists between the Big and Small Powers should not be measured in terms of power supremacy, but only in terms of power responsibility. The Big Powers cannot escape responsibility for the maintenance and the defense of a just peace settlement, even by force, if the necessity should arise.

However, to be just and durable, a security system should be operated on the firm basis of the collaboration of all nations concerned, the Big and the Small, as their joint responsibility, in direct proportion to their respective possibilities.

E. Peaceful international collaboration is essential to the creation of international confidence without which real security could not be established. Therefore, the initiative which led to the holding of the Dumbarton Oaks and the San Francisco Conferences as well as their timing certainly deserves wholehearted approval.

F. However, in wartime responsible statesmen are mainly absorbed by military problems in which the power of armed force necessarily plays a dominant part as the chief element of victory. Wartime thinking tends temporarily to relegate to secondary importance fundamental principles, moral and cultural forces, and spiritual ideals, so indispensable to the establishment of a World Security Organization for the maintenance of a just and durable peace.

G. Consequently, it may be inadvisable for the United Nations to attempt to complete the erection of a rigid structure of a world security system while hostilities are still in progress, as such finality might lead to a dangerous freezing of a world status imposed by war conditions, and inconsistent with the common programme of purpose and principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter, to which the United

Nations subscribed in the Declaration signed by them on January 1st, 1942.

H. This war has definitely proved that in modern times war can only be waged by a Big Power endowed with a great industrial potential and vast territory over which it can distribute and effectively defend its war industries. On the other hand, no small Power can prepare or wage war unless it becomes the satellite of a Big aggressor Power.

Hence, apart from the basic reasons of justice and of the right to self-determination of peoples, a sound security organization requires that the real independence of smaller States be preserved and scrupulously maintained.

If a world security system is to be established under the joint guarantee of the Big Powers in willing, permanent collaboration with the smaller States, it would be unjust, illogical and superfluous for any one of the Big Powers to seek additional insurance of its own security by means of territorial aggrandizement at the cost of neighboring States or by tending to reduce their independence and sovereign rights.

I. In the light of this reasoning, the veto formula agreed upon at the Crimea Conference should be revised by the United Nations, as, in its present form, it could secure the world only against aggression by a small State, while it would be inapplicable in the case of aggression by a Big Power.

II. SUGGESTIONS

1) The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are a first step on the way to a formulation of the statute of a World Security Organization. The welcome result of the constructive criticism provoked by the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals is most effectively proved by the fact that a few months later another greatly improved document of international collaboration for security, known as the "Act of Chapultepec," issued from the Conference recently held in Mexico City.

The Act of Chapultepec differs substantially and advantageously from the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. It established explicitly international relations on the basis of justice, law, the respect of treaties, the equality of States, good neighbor policy, non-interference in internal and external affairs of States, the non-recognition of territorial acquisitions by force; and on the recognition of the principle that every State is equally entitled to political independence and to respect of its territorial integrity.

From the general standpoint of the high aim of establishing an indivisible peace in an united and indivisible world, it appears both indispensable and logical to apply the same civilized norms of justice to international relations in both Hemispheres.

The Polish Government suggests that these noble principles of justice and democracy, adopted by the free nations of the Western Hemisphere and reaffirmed by them in the Act of Chapultepec, be adopted in their entirety by the United Nations at the San Francisco Conference and embodied in the text of the Charter of the World Security Organization.

2) The necessity for the introduction of the principles of the Act of Chapultepec in the Charter of the World Security Organization additionally arises from the very text of the Act of Chapultepec. Namely, Part III of the Act of Chapultepec stipulates that it "shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the World Security Organization." Consequently, failure to coordinate the principles of the Charter of the World Security Organization with those of the Act of Chapultepec would result in rendering the Act of Chapultepec inoperative.

The importance of this suggestion should be weighed in the light of the second paragraph of Chapter VIII of Section C of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which foresees that "no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council." If the voting formula suggested by the Crimea Conference were to be adopted, such authorization of the Security Council "should be made by an affirmative vote of seven Members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members." In fact, any one of the permanent members of the Security Council, even when a party to the dispute, could delay or even prevent the operation of the security stipulations of the Act of Chapultepec. Assuming, for example, that a non-American Power were preparing an act of aggression against an American Power, such a non-American Power would have the possibility of rendering inoperative the Security Agreement signed by 20 Nations of the Western Hemisphere.

In the light of all the above enumerated considerations and of the observations relating to the functioning of specific regional arrangements:

The Polish Government suggests that the voting procedure of the
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THE APPEASEMENT OF VIENNA

by M. K. DZIEWANOWSKI

ON the heels of the remnants of the "Grande Armee," retreating in disorder, Russian troops in the winter of 1813 occupied the Duchy of Warsaw. Although legally only an Army of Occupation, owing to the position the Russians held amid the Allies, they acted as though they were the lawful masters of the country. From the very beginning, Tsar Alexander sought to win Polish public opinion by promises of the reunion of all the Polish territories under his rule. During his stay in Paris in April and May, 1814, he graciously chose to mix among Napoleon's Polish soldiers, inspiring them with the vision of the reinstated independence of their country. Early in May, 1814, a cordial personal letter was dispatched to General Kosciuszko, leader of the first Polish Rising of 1794 against the Russians, in which Alexander gave assurance of his best intentions and asked for support in his designs.

Towards the end of May the Tsar received an invitation to visit London. He arrived there on June 7th, in company with the King of Prussia; enthusiastically cheered by crowds in the streets, he was referred to by the London Press as the "restitutor orbis," and enjoyed in particular the sympathy of extreme republican groups. The University of Oxford offered him a doctorate honoris causa as the defender of Europe's rights.

His intention was to win the Whig leaders, and he set out to do so by displaying the plans of liberal principles he proposed to apply in his own country. As to territories gained by Russia as a reward for the part she had played in the war, Alexander emphasized that these were to be provided for in accordance with the needs and natural feelings of the inhabitants.

But Austria was not slow to realize what the Tsar's plans were with regard to Poland, and, taking advantage of the Regent's personal dislike for him, set to work to effect a "rapprochement" between Great Britain and Austria. The Austrian Ambassador in London, Merveldt, did his best to make the British Cabinet see the danger, from the standpoint of British as well as of European interests, if Russia, already enlarged by the annexation of Finland and Moldavia, were in addition to get the whole of the Duchy of Warsaw. These efforts seem to have met with a certain success.

The crudity with which Alexander, towards the end of his stay in England, advocated the incorporation of Poland into Russia, while Saxony was to be handed over with his consent to Prussia, disheartened those sympathetic persons who supported him during his visit in England. Both Parliament and Press sounded warnings against placing too much confidence in Moscow's aims. Attacks came from the opposition, making the Government responsible for neglecting the important question "affecting all Europe—the question of the restoration of Poland's freedom, full and complete, within her ancient frontiers of the 1791 Constitution." The Tsar, aware of the change of atmosphere, left London in a disturbed mood, resolved to break the resistance among the Allies set up against him by Metternich. On his way back, passing through Warsaw, he received a Polish delegation and



The Congress of Vienna. Painting by Isabey. Seated in center forefront is Lord Castlereagh of England; seated at extreme left is Prince Hardenberg of Prussia; standing and gesturing at left is Prince Metternich of Austria; at Metternich's left is Count Nesselrode of Russia. Prince Talleyrand of France is seated at right of table.

said: "I'll remove with the sword, if I am not able to succeed in doing otherwise, any obstacles preventing me from reconstructing Poland." In September, on his way to the Congress of Vienna, he said at Pulawy: "Now Poland is going to be my chief concern. I am going to work for her when I join the Congress. Am I not her only friend?"

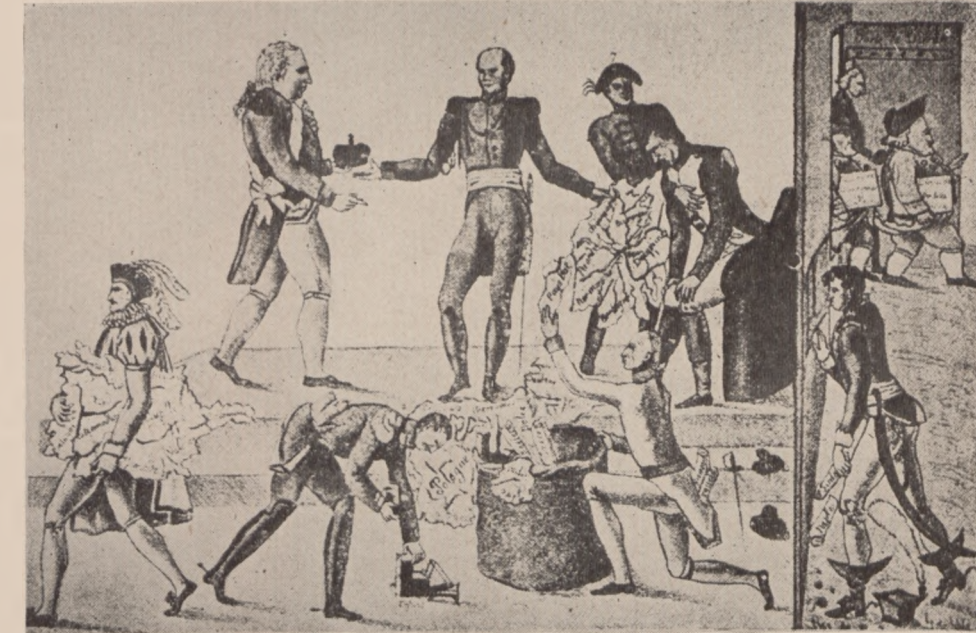
Before this he had paid a short visit to Kamienny Ostrow, where he and his advisor Nesselrode held a long conference. It was agreed that Nesselrode should precede the Tsar to Vienna, to prepare the ground for his arrival. "The Duchy of Warsaw is my conquest over Napoleon," he said to Nesselrode.

"When I was beating his treacherous attack I had almost all Europe in coalition against me. Today, when the successes of our arms make it possible for the main States of Europe to be reconstituted within the pre-war boundaries and even, in some cases, to be enlarged, it is only fair that my people should receive a reward for their part in the struggle. It is also fair that Russia should acquire frontiers that could guarantee her against future invasion . . . Should you be asked questions regarding the system of Government I propose to establish in the territories to be annexed—avoid answering such questions . . ."

The Tsar arrived in Vienna on September 25th, determined to impose his plans by force if necessary. He insisted that his acquisitions of the last twenty years—Finland and Moldavia—would be left incomplete without the Duchy of Warsaw. An autocrat himself, making heavy demands on his people, Alexander felt that nothing short of territorial gains would satisfy them on his return from Vienna. Expecting to meet two opponents, and resolved to have one of them on his side, he selected Talleyrand, who naturally enough, he thought, could not feel at ease in the Habsburg capital. Talleyrand's chief concern at that time was to secure for France an appropriate position in the Committee of Four.

The meeting took place on October 2nd, the day preceding the official opening of the Congress. When Talleyrand declined to support Alexander's plans, the Tsar lost his temper completely and, emphasizing every word, said: "I'll retain what I have got." "Sire, you will retain what is due to you, by law," retorted the Tsar, "for those who have betrayed the cause of Europe as the King of Saxony did when he joined Napoleon." "The betrayal of Europe is a question of dates, Sire," answered Talleyrand, referring to the Russo-French alliance of 1807.

The official opening of the Congress took place, after having been postponed several times, on October 3rd. The Signatories of the Treaty—Austria, Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, France, Sweden and Portugal—having agreed to assemble in Vienna to work out the reconstruction of Europe, had provided no method or procedure for the occasion. Eight Powers constituted the Central Committee, Metternich acting as Chairman. Deliberations touching on the two points with which we are concerned—the question of Poland and that of Saxony—were dealt with by Four Powers: Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia. France, having been excluded, obtained access to the deliberations only on January 9th, when these two major questions had been decided on at least in principle. It was a pity, because it was Talleyrand more than anyone who held the view that the Congress had assembled to carry out the clauses of the treaty of Paris, whose principles should be shown more respect: "It is only by a



Restitution; or to each his share. Contemporary cartoon satirizing the carving up of Europe by the Congress of Vienna.

strict observance of the principle of legitimacy and of the rights of peoples," he wrote, "that we can hope to restore a lasting equilibrium in Europe."

At the sitting of the Central Committee on October 8th, two distinct tendencies appeared: one represented by France's Talleyrand, Austria's Metternich and England's Castlereagh, whose object was to bring to life the principles of the European Balance; the other represented by Russia and Prussia, whose object was to grab as much as possible and share the results. Thus, when Talleyrand proposed that the preliminary declaration should include the phrase: "The deliberations will be carried out by the Congress in accordance with the principles of international law," Prussia's Hardenberg and Humboldt objected to it.

Lord Castlereagh, who knew the minds of both parties, thought it best that the attitude of Great Britain should be made clear from the start. He therefore issued a Memorandum addressed to the Russian representatives on October 12th:

"Contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Kalisz, Russia is now claiming the whole of the territory of the Duchy of Warsaw, by reason of her troops having been the first to enter the territory, which would leave the capitals of both Austria and Prussia without any line of defense. This idea to rally all Poles round the Russian flag cannot fail to create apprehensions throughout Europe, so anxious of peace and rest. Having been aware throughout of what has been done by the Russian people and their great Ruler, as a contribution to the great war effort of the Allied Powers, Europe can see no ground for plans which are bound to up-

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Contemporary cartoon showing how Napoleon's return from exile on Elba disrupted the Congress of Vienna. The artist based his drawing on Noel Nemire's engraving representing the partition of Poland in 1772, which was reproduced in the last issue of THE POLISH REVIEW (Vol. V, No. 16).

NOT BY MIGHT

*Time: All Saints, C.M.D.
"The Son of God Goes Forth to War"
or Materna
"O Beautiful for Spacious Skies"*

*The destiny of people lies
Within their mental scope,
Their firm resolve, objective cries,
Determined faith and hope.*

*For not by might of deadly steel
Nor armaments of force
Can tyrants with the bloody heel
Dictate a people's course!*

*All men are given inner sight
To vision Freedom's plan;
Endowed with their creative might
No force can conquer man!*

*There is no brute for men to fear
Whose faith is burning bright;
When their belief is strong and clear
In freedom, God and right.*

W. A. WHITING

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set the equilibrium of Europe."

As time went on, it became clear that the Powers, who had showed unanimity in the spring of 1814, when the question of defeating Napoleon became imminent, now, when it came to political problems, were divided into two hostile groups. Russia, anxious to absorb the whole of the territory of the Duchy of Warsaw, was agreeable to Prussia being compensated with Saxony. Prussia, on the other hand, although she wished for a part of the Duchy of Warsaw, especially Poznan and Torun, coveted Saxony above all. Neither Austria nor France was anxious to see Prussians in Dresden or Russians in Warsaw. The attitude of Great Britain, stressing the moral side of the problems, was unfavorable to the Russo-Prussian plans, although less so where Saxony was concerned. Talleyrand's policy was to widen the breach between the four Powers and to make France's position a determining factor.

In view of Metternich's attitude and the lack of decision on the Prussian side, Lord Castlereagh addressed a Memorandum to these powers, suggesting that a proposal be made to Alexander which, if declined by him, would make it evident beyond all doubt who was to blame. The Memorandum proposed 1. The reconstruction of Poland within the frontiers that she had prior to the first partition; 2. The restoration of the Kingdom of Poland of 1791; 3. Only in the event of neither of these being accepted by Alexander, a return to the sad alternative of partitions.

In reply, Alexander addressed a Note, on October 30th, with a detailed supplement attached to it. In this he tried to expostulate, saying that Russia's territory was threatened from the West and she needed a buffer State. At the same time, informed by his friends and counsellors of Talleyrand's suggestions and of the part played by them in the firmness of Austria and Great Britain, he resolved to have it out with Talleyrand, whom he considered a more dangerous opponent than Metternich. Talleyrand, on the other hand, carefully avoided the interview. The Tsar, having eventually found him one day sitting alone, reproached him for making intrigues which rendered the situation of France, already very delicate, still more complicated. The following dialogue ensued: "You used to favor the reconstruction of the Kingdom

of Poland in Paris." "So I did, but then there was no question of the integrity of Polish independence." "I have 200,000 men in the field there. Let anyone try to throw me out. I agreed to Saxony being handed over to Prussia, and Great Britain gave her consent to it." "Great Britain could not possibly have surrendered anything that was a patrimony of the King of Saxony." To which, losing control, Alexander replied: "If the King of Saxony does not abdicate, I will have him deported to Russia and let him perish there. King Stanislaw Poniatowski died in exile . . . in Russia." "I did not think it was the object of the Congress to let attempts be made against legitimate sovereigns." The Tsar rushed from the room without taking leave of him. Talleyrand later wrote.

Talleyrand was aware that the Congress was nearing its crisis and was prepared to use any influence he had to consolidate the forces joined in defense of Poland and Saxony. "The Allies," said he, addressing Metternich and Lord Castlereagh, "fought to be rid of Napoleon. They needn't have done it if their intention was to let such things be done as the annexation of two States so essential to the equilibrium of Europe, against the principles of legitimacy." As regards Metternich, he would do anything but see Austria being drawn into another war. But the report made to the Emperor of Austria by Hager, Chief of the Secret Police, is expressive of the increasing tension. "Public opinion," it said, "is contemplating, not without reason, the possibility of the Congress being broken up in consequence of a new war between Austria and Prussia over the question of Poland and Saxony. It is common talk that the Tsar is a wolf in sheep's clothing."

On December 6th Alexander had an invitation to dinner sent to the King of Prussia.

At the dinner table he succeeded in persuading his guest that their common interest demanded mutual support in the matters of Saxony and Poland. At the end of the dinner Hardenberg was summoned. The Tsar, in his own name as well as in that of his bewildered guest, announced that a treaty, final and immovable, had been concluded between the two Powers. Hardenberg, who was stunned, objected strenuously. Alexander called him to attention, referring to duties with regard to his Monarch.

Talleyrand, in the face of the disquieting aspect these problems were assuming, turned to Metternich and tried to make him understand that it was within Austria's power to re-establish the balance of the Congress by throwing into the field the powerful Army which she had still mobilized. Metternich remained undecided.

On December 28th Lord Castlereagh met Talleyrand, who submitted an offer of a military agreement between Great Britain and France. "Military agreement means Alliance," said Castlereagh. "Alliance means war. The British people are against war, and will have it avoided no matter the cost." To which Talleyrand replied, "I feel as you do, but this war would have chances of becoming popular in England if waged in the interests of Europe." "What are these interests?" "The restitution of Poland. I hold that issue to be a matter of the most essential importance among those discussed at the Congress, as it affects all Europe." "My sovereign's hope is that a nation so worthy of the esteem and concern of the others, owing to its traditions, its courage and the services it has rendered to Europe throughout history, will have her freedom restored. The Partitions, which have ruled Poland out of the community of States, have given rise to and provided justification for upheavals and turmoils of which in time all Europe has become the victim."

Alexander realized that Russia was running the risk of being drawn into an armed conflict, with her resources coming to an end, exhausted and bled white. He resolved to do

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THE POLISH NAVY CARRIES ON!

ON April 26, 1945, at 10:30 p.m. over radio station WINS, New York City, Henry Milo, noted radio commentator, interviewed Captain Tadeusz P. Morgenstern of the Polish Navy. The interview follows below:

Milo: We have with us today in our studio, Captain Tadeusz P. Morgenstern, representative of the Polish Navy and Naval Attaché to the Polish Embassy in Washington.

Captain Morgenstern is one of the higher ranking officers in the Polish Navy who have served in its ranks since its inception and who knows intimately its development, struggles, failures and victories.

The Polish Fleet, the greater part of which escaped in 1939, has been fighting for more than five years alongside the Allied Armadas, and has taken an illustrious part in Allied Naval Action.

What were the origins of the contemporary Polish Navy, Captain? I am of the impression that it was established following World War I.

Captain: That is right. It was 25 years ago that the so-called Pomeranian Army—commanded by General Haller—reached the shores of the Baltic Sea. That was in 1920. In the city of Puck, the Polish Naval flag was raised for the first time. I had the good fortune to be present at the ceremony, as aide to the first Commander in Chief of our Navy.

The beginnings of the Polish Navy were difficult. The new Poland, after once more becoming independent was exhausted by the long war and unable to devote all its efforts and funds to the establishment of a suitable Navy. Little by little, however, our Fleet acquired several torpedo boats, and later some gunboats and trawlers purchased in foreign shipyards. The building of the port at Gdynia was started. In the course of time, Poland was able to place orders for a number of modern destroyers and submarines in France and in England. Thus, at the outbreak of the war, we possessed a modern fleet, equal in size to other small European fleets, as for instance, those of Denmark and Norway.

Milo: What were the conditions in September, 1939, when the Polish fleet was attacked and undertook to resist the Germans, the first of the Allied Fleets to do so?

Captain: The German attack on Poland, though it came as a surprise, did not find us unprepared. Various fortified positions along our sea coast put up a brave and comparatively long defense against the superior forces of the invader. Westerplatte, defended by a company of marines, was able to resist the Germans heroically for 8 days and nights. Our Naval base at Oksywie fought off the enemy for more than two weeks. The seafortress Hel, defended by Commander in Chief Rear Admiral Unrug, did not capitulate until after a month of bitter resistance, and was the last remnant of Poland to surrender. Their capitulation, however, did not end the Polish Navy's struggle with the enemy. Some of the destroyers and submarines broke through the German blockade and reached Allied Navies and continued the battle at their side. They have fought unceasingly and without respite up to the present day. The fact that a part of our Fleet was able to reach the Allies had great political significance for the Polish Nation at a moment when all armed resistance in Poland had ceased and the whole country had been occupied by the enemy. Our Commander in Chief, the late General Sikorski, stressed this fact in an address to the Polish Navy in the following words: "I remember, I shall always remember that there was a time—the most critical in Poland's history—when you were the only armed force of the Republic; when on board your ships her Liberty and Sovereignty found refuge."

Milo: Where have Polish ships fought?

Captain: They fought everywhere at the side of their Allies. Our ships were at Narvik. They participated in the action at Calais and Dunquerque. They formed part of Allied



Capt. Tadeusz P. Morgenstern interviewed by Henry Milo over WINS.

convoys on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. They took part in the raid on Dieppe, in the invasion of North Africa and Sicily. They fought at Salerno, and participated in the invasion of France in Normandy, as well as in Southern France. They fought in *all* the important Allied Naval operations. The efficiency of our ships and crews won the appreciation and confidence of our Allies, so that when our crews were re-enforced by volunteers from Poles residing in the United States, Canada, France and South America, and by those who had been able to escape from German prisons, we obtained without difficulty a number of *new ships*—including two cruisers, many destroyers, submarines and several P.T. boats. Today, our Fleet is stronger than it was before the war.

Milo: And what is the fighting record of the Polish Navy?

Captain: We have sailed 1,200,000 nautical miles during the course of the war. We have sunk, approximately, 70 enemy units of various types, including a cruiser, a large number of destroyers, submarines and transports. These battles have been costly. We lost many brave officers and men, as well as several ships. Our losses are comparatively much greater in proportion than those of any other Allied Fleet, exceeding 12% killed. Famous ships, such as the *Orzel*, *Grom*, *Kujawiak*, *Jastrzab*, *Orkan* and *Dragon* now lie at the bottom of the sea. Nevertheless, the accomplishments of the Polish Fleet are widely known by the Allied Fleets. They remember how the submarine *Orzel* managed to break through the German blockade in the Baltic to reach Allied shores—a feat unparalleled in naval history. They remember the brilliant action of the destroyer *Piorun* in the struggle with the German battleship *Bismark*, the splendid participation of the destroyer *Blyskawica* and other ships in sea battles in the Mediterranean. The great part played by

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THE FASCINATION OF BENDA MASKS

by HELEN GOODWIN



Golden Beauty. By W. T. Benda.

"A MASK," writes Wladyslaw Theodore Benda in his recently published volume*, "is a weird, perfidious, and singularly perplexing object." Indeed, primitive peoples, in all parts of the world, still believe in the supernatural properties of masks. Even we, the sophisticates of a streamlined era, fall under their mysterious spell, and if we happen to don one, subconsciously identify ourselves with the being the mask typifies, assuming its character and gestures.

It seems only natural that Mr. Benda should have become interested in masks and mask-making. As a child in Poland, he persistently "tinkered, whittled or glued paper into shapes of toys, puppets, and diminutive towns," while the theatre patter of his actor relatives (he is a nephew of the late Helena Modjeska) conditioned him to the stage and its artificialities. Study at the Cracow School of Technology and Academy of Art, followed by studies at art schools in Vienna, San Francisco, and New York, had made him a decorative painter and illustrator and had also developed his aptitude for such work as the making of masks.

Mr. Benda, who is an acknowledged authority on everything and anything connected with the fascinating subject of masks, having contributed an article on Modern Masks and Their use to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, made his first mask in 1914 to wear at a masquerade. Imperfect and hastily constructed though it was, it created such a sensation that Mr. Benda turned to mask-making as a hobby and several years later embarked on a mask-making career.

Masks is a distillate of twenty-odd years experience in the art of mask-making. Written in a leisurely, merry style, it provides information with a chuckle. Its informal text is interspersed with dozens of sketches and studies made by the artist in designing his masks. There are also 77 full- or half-page photographs of Mr. Benda's most popular masks, some of them world-famous through their appearances on stage or screen. Each photograph has an explanatory caption that makes as interesting reading as do the book's eight chapters.

About these chapters, the

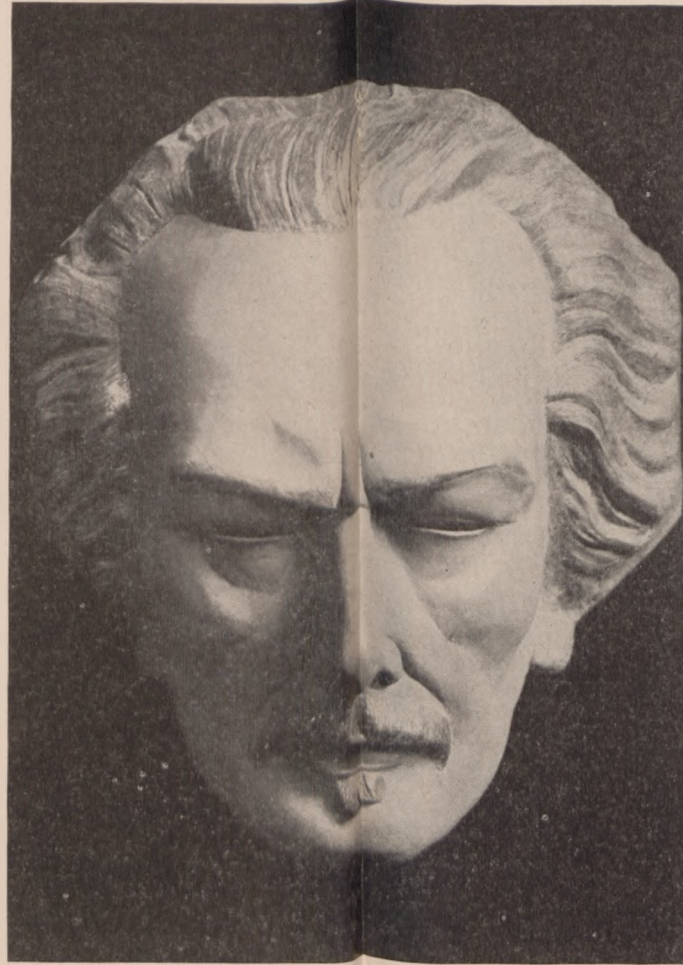
* MASKS. By W. T. Benda. Introduction by Frank Crowninshield. 128 pp. New York: Watson-Guption. \$5.

author writes in his foreword: "Although the discussion in these chapters is frankly centered about my own so-called 'Benda masks,' in its greater part I have dealt with masks of all lands and of all times, aiming to present a general picture of the subject as a background against which to approach the awkward business of speaking of my personal work. This plan involves, at the beginning, some thoughts concerning the attributes common to all masks, wherever, whenever, and by whomsoever made; the element of mystery wherewith they are endowed; the illusions they can produce; and the psychological effect they have on the human soul. Then, after surveying briefly the infinite variety of masks made by the primitive tribes in all parts of the globe, and taking into account the remote antiquity of this art, we shall be ready to observe the relationship between the masks and the theatre. The story of centuries of neglect, and the recent attempts at a revival of the use of masks on the stage, completes the general picture."

Mask-making, as Mr. Benda envisages it, is an arduous, painstaking task. It is neither more nor less than a laborious form of sculpture in paper, complicated by the fact that the finished product must not only be artistic, but also practical. To be used in pantomime or dance, a mask must fit the head of the wearer, permitting him to breathe, see and hear; it must be lightweight, yet strong and durable.

Because Mr. Benda has written his book from the how-to-do-it angle, his longest chapter deals with his own method of mask-making. There are five ways in which masks may be fitted. They may cover the whole head or three-quarters of the head of the wearer. Fantastic or grotesque masks are often high, the wearer's head fitting into the mask's neck. Half masks and face masks without a top are held in place by strings. The majority of the Benda masks are the three-quarters type, extending over the top of the head and covering the ears.

Once Mr. Benda has decided what type of mask he will make and has selected his theme—something



Ignacy Paderewski (as he looked in 1927). By W. T. Benda.

which in itself requires much thinking through, observation and sketching—he is ready to decide on the technique to be used. For here, too, the artist has a choice. He may use the direct method, building up the mask without benefit of a mold; he may make his mask with the help of a plaster of Paris mold; he may shape his mask on a wire armature used as a frame; or he may cut its component parts out of cardboard and then join them together.

Benda masks are generally made by the first, most difficult of these methods. Mr. Benda fashions his masks literally out of nothing. Using a motley array of tools, including surgeons' scalpels, jewelers' burrs, silversmiths' files, shoemakers' knives, razor blades, calipers, tweezers, nippers, etc., he carefully glues one tiny strip of hard unbleached paper upon another, compressing the layers thus formed so tightly that they form a tough shell. He achieves his outline by constructing the forehead first, filling in the profile, building up the cheeks, chin and sides of the nose, framing the eyes and nostrils, and then forming the lips. This process alone has consumed 25 layers of paper. Since the convexities of the mask must be followed without forcing the paper, which cannot be bent against its will, the paper must be cut into countless narrow strips. Eyes, nostrils, and lips require even more minute pieces of paper.

Having completed the shape of his mask's face, Mr. Benda corrects the features by cutting, filing and carving. The top and sides of the head are then added and the whole is painted in tempera. Imperfections thus revealed are further corrected and the

mask is reinforced by brass wire edges. Several coats of varnish are applied next outside and inside the mask. This is followed by several coats of permanent oil colors. All that remains now is the intricate process of gilding the inside of the mask. The entire procedure of making a mask takes four or five weeks.

The Benda masks presented in his book are a gallery of hu-

man types. Some are caricatures while others are frankly grotesque. A few, like those of Lincoln and Paderewski, are straight portrait masks. There are beauties of all climes and ages and there are nincompoops, rascals, octogenarians and plutocrats. But whether his purpose is to terrify or to amuse, to satirize or to inspire, Benda follows the principles of rhythmic coordination and bases his work on a "persistent and introspective study of nature." He gets ideas for his masks from observation and comparison of human faces, from facial expressions, from "animal, bird, fish, or insect characteristics which, when embodied in a human face, produce an extraordinary intensity of character," and from "abstract ideas, suggesting allegorical and symbolic masks."

Readers contemplating going into the mask-making field are warned by Mr. Benda to expect the worst. They are apt to be regarded as queer fish by their fellow human beings and a strange assortment of visitors will disturb their peace. Furthermore, the new disciple "must not be excessively vexed if one night, when stepping out of a car with one of his more realistic masks under his arm, he is stopped by a brass-buttoned representative of the law under the suspicion of having cut off somebody's head."

All in all, W. T. Benda's *Masks* is a beguiling book. Its closing chapter, "Episode of the Calf's Eyelashes," is a delightful bit of whimsy that leaves one very much in sympathy with the trials and tribulations of impractical mask-makers.

Writing in the *New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, Kenneth MacGowan, an authority on primitive masks, stated:

"Here is a book that should have appeared twenty years ago. Published in 1925, Benda's *Masks* would have celebrated as well as guided the resurgence of a very strange dramatic phenomenon. It was a resurgence for which Benda himself was largely responsible, so far as America was concerned."

Educated in Poland and thoroughly Polish in spirit, W. T. Benda has left the stamp of his Polishness on all his work. He is a perfect example of Polish culture blended with American technique and reflects credit on both the country of his birth and that of his adoption.



Japanese Dancer. By W. T. Benda.



Baboon Man. By W. T. Benda.



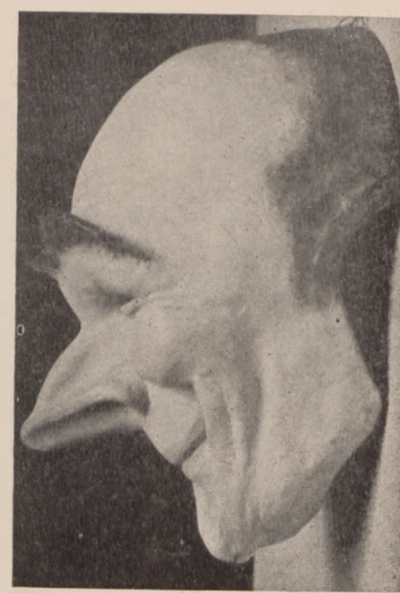
Beelzebub. By W. T. Benda.



The Old Wag. By W. T. Benda.



A Sad Negro. By W. T. Benda.



The Jester. By W. T. Benda.

A Pole First Proposed The League of Nations 114 Years Ago

by JOHN SHERWOOD

MORE than 80 years before President Woodrow Wilson's proposal of a League of Nations, Wojciech Jastrzebowski, a well-known Polish soldier, naturalist and member of the Friends of Science Society, proposed a system by which the countries of Europe could live and develop in eternal peace and order.

Jastrzebowski, a professor at the University of Warsaw, fought during the Polish Uprising of 1831 as a volunteer in the artillery of the National Guard. As such, he wrote, on February 21, 1831, his "Thoughts on the topic of eternal peace between civilized nations," on the bloody field of Grochow.

Jastrzebowski's 17-page booklet, written at the inopportune moment of the first great Polish Insurrection, for many years gathered dust in the Society's archives. Only a part of it was ever printed some weeks later in a still rebellious Warsaw.

The peace project consisted of 77 points that would free Europe forever from war and its attendant horrors. To do this, according to Jastrzebowski's plan, all European nations would have to renounce their freedom and accept the yoke of law under an Eternal Alliance. Monarchs would become only the guardians and executors of law and would have no other title than Fathers of Nations or Patriarchs, with the hereditary right to be elected to this dignity. There would be as many patriarchs in Europe as there are nations.

From the moment that the Eternal Alliance would be accepted, there would be no more countries in Europe, only nations, while all existing boundaries, the main cause of so much bloodshed throughout European history, would be forever abolished.

The nations, according to Jastrzebowski, would be composed of people speaking a common language, regardless of their place of residence on the continent. The people of each nation would be compelled to obey the laws of their own nation, determined by their Diet. Peoples that are dispersed over Europe such as the gypsies and Jews would be subject not only to the laws of their own nations, but also to those of the nation with which they live.

The laws of Europe would be determined by a Congress composed of plenipotentiaries from all the nations who would have the right to enforce those laws. Each nation would send to this Congress an equal number of plenipotentiaries, chosen by each national Diet. This European Congress would be permanent, each year meeting in a different capital, the sequence being based on the order in which the nations joined the Eternal Alliance.

The first duty of the European Congress would be to set up laws for Europe, and each law would be required to begin with the declaration: "Peace in Europe is durable and eternal . . ." All nations would be summoned to join. A nation that during the decade beginning with 1831 would not declare itself in support of eternal peace for Europe, or that for some claim backed by force dared to oppose another nation, would no longer be regarded as a European or even a civil-

ized nation, but as a barbaric one deprived of the protection of European laws. Every nation in any part of the world would have the right to belong to the Eternal Alliance, and thus obtain the protection of European laws.

Any monarch or patriarch who would for five years prevent his nation from joining the Eternal Alliance, would forever lose not only his right to the patriarchate but also would be considered an enemy of peace and law, whose name would be forever cursed by future generations.

The European Congress would lend its support to every nation, should it experience difficulty in joining the Alliance. A wrong done to one nation belonging to the Alliance would be considered as an infringement against the rights of all Europe. Any attempt to destroy the Eternal Alliance, or to separate any nation therefrom would also be regarded as a criminal attempt against European laws. Congress would have the duty to compensate such wrong done to European law, according to existing legislation. Congress would also decide on all dissensions arising between nations.

The number of cases of dissension solved by the European Congress would gauge the imperfection of the laws and government of the given nation that caused the cases to come up before the Congress. Suitable statistical reports would be published yearly by the Congress. Special mixed judicial commissions would be set up to decide cases of dispute between citizens of different nations, members of which would be appointed by the courts of each disputant nation.

Every member nation would have the right to present, through its plenipotentiaries at the Congress, projects for improving existing European laws, and to propose new laws, without however, the right of demanding their unconditional acceptance.

All weapons of war, arms and ammunition, to be found on the continent of Europe, would become the property of all Europe. Part of those weapons, necessary to the defense of European laws and safety, would be deposited in certain spots determined by the Congress, so-called "bloody places." No one would have the right of approaching them on penalty of 10 years loss of national and European rights. The remainder—the surplus—would be collected in a central place of Europe where it would be used in the erection of a great shrine to the "God Protector of Rights and Peace."

Possession or concealment of any military weapons whatsoever, even in the smallest quantity that have not been permitted by the European Congress, would be regarded as an attack upon the Eternal Alliance and an infringement of European Law. Hunting weapons, as well as any other potentially lethal weapons, farm tools, trade tools, etc., in order not to be suspected of having been stolen from the "bloody places" would have to bear the stamp of Eternal Peace ordained by the Congress. Using such an instrument to take a life or in any way to break national or European laws, would be considered the worst of all crimes, punishable by a 50 year exile.

There would never again be a standing army in (Please turn to page 16)



Conflagration. From the cycle The War by Artur Grottger (1837-1867).

"DIED IN ACTION"

THE two letters reprinted below were sent to THE POLISH REVIEW by a young Canadian girl whose fiancé, a soldier in the Polish Armed Forces, was killed last August near Chambois in Normandy. They were sent to her by the commanding officer and a soldier friend of her fiancé's unit.

"My only reason in sending the two letters on to you," she writes, "is my wish to save someone else from being told, 'that Polish soldiers are left to lie like dead cattle in the fields after they have fallen in battle,' as someone remarked to me last fall. I suffered deeply over this remark especially when the same speaker continued by saying, 'You surely never expect to hear anything more about your fiancé or his belongings! No one cares what happens to a Pole after he is dead. Their families have lost all trace of them through the past years while they have been forced to wander from one country to another. Since so many of them get killed even Polish officials don't bother to keep records such as is done with Canadians!' These thoughtlessly cruel words caused me such a lot of mental agony. It is true these brave, dauntless men have been forced to tramp and fight in many alien lands, but records are kept by Polish officials and there is always someone to care deeply about what happens to them. So I hope that publishing these letters will save someone else such heartbreak as I have experienced."

The first letter is the one from the Commanding Officer of A's unit:

Holland, December 14, 1944

Dear Miss....

I thank you very much for your letter of September 9, 1944 and I apologize that my reply is delayed owing to the circumstances of the war.

The sad news sent you by Cadet Officer H.... is true and I would like to express to you my deepest sympathy after the death of your fiancé, the late Private A...., killed in action in Normandy on the 20th of August, 1944. His grave is in Normandy, north of Chambois, on Hill 262. May I forward to you the enclosed photograph of his grave (second from the right, marked by a small cross).

The late Private A.... was a good and brave soldier and he performed his military duties conscientiously, to the last moment and to the complete satisfaction of his superiors. He was also a very good companion to all his comrades in his company.

Acknowledging the courage by which he distinguished himself during the fighting and the service which he rendered to Poland by the sacrifice of his life, I proposed to my higher authorities to award him the Military Cross for Bravery (Krzyż Walecznych) and I promoted him to the rank of lance corporal.

His private belongings, letters and documents, were sent to the Polish Record Office in Great Britain on August 27, 1944, and I asked the C.O. to send his correspondence and souvenirs to you.

I am enclosing a translation of a letter written by Cadet Officer M.... describing the circumstances of the death of your fiancé.

According to your wish the parcels with cigarettes and tobacco which you sent him were distributed among his companions of arms and on behalf of them I thank you very much for your generosity.



A battle scarred wayside crucifix dominates the scene where Polish troops fought to close the Falaise Gap in Normandy.

I do appreciate very much your noble words and deeds concerning Poland and I do believe that no one of the sacrifices of our soldiers who have given their lives for the common cause will be in vain. On the contrary, I firmly trust that from the sacrifice of their lives will rise the liberty, the justice of many nations and this should give some consolation to you.

Commanding Officer....

The second letter is from the fiancé's friend, Cadet Officer M., written December 12, 1944 from Holland.

Dear Miss....:

I am one of those who were with A.... a good soldier and companion, since the Polish Division went into action.

He took part in all battles of the battalion and was killed in action when all our fighting in Normandy was nearing culmination by the closing of the pocket at Chambois.

It wasn't predestined for him to see the defeat of the Germans in France, Belgium and now in Holland.

When we were at Hill 262 near Chambois, A.... sneered at the shells and mortars and at the frequent fire of German machine guns.

It was on the 20th of August, 1944 when the Germans, endeavoring to break through the encirclement of our forces, opened heavy fire with their mortars.

A.... took refuge in a small ditch, which couldn't protect him well against the shrapnel. A mortar shell of small caliber fell into the ditch in which A.... was crouching. Another shrapnel cut through his helmet and killed him instantly.

He passed away near the post of Cadet Officer H.... who was his Section Commander. The latter had always praised A.... and he really merited the praise because he was most friendly and kind to all of us.

Whenever he received a parcel from Canada or England, he never forgot about those of his companions who never do receive packages. We always remember him as a good comrade and a brave soldier. He was buried with the other boys on Hill 262 and among those soldiers who still are alive, the memory of A....'s burial is still vivid.

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ONE YEAR AGO: ANTI-TANK MEN IN MONTE CASSINO BATTLE

by MELCHIOR WANKOWICZ

TO HAVE a crack at the Germans was the anti-tank men's dream.

But anti-tank guns are creatures appreciated mostly in deserts such as Libya where they are not asked to jump over rocks. So the Polish commanders rushed the anti-tank personnel to man mortars.

Captain Rozanski, the commander of the heavy anti-tank artillery meditated and showed obvious strain in his efforts to arrive at the best solution.

His anti-tank gun, affectionately called "the little gun" was in fact a two and a half ton colossus.

Above the valley hidden in the clouds of smoke brooded the explosion-blackened walls of the ruined Monastery. The northern wall rose to a height of two stories. Grottoes and dug-outs on Monastery Hill belched fire and seemed to sneer at the attackers as if protected by some Black Power of Evil.

The anti-tank man looked greedily: if only he could come close to the place and let go his 17-pound shells with their velocity of 3,000 feet and their terrible power of penetration. His weapon had been tried out in Iraq: there, from a distance of 4,000 feet they had fired at concrete 60 inches thick and when they went to inspect it there was nothing left of it.

Looking at the confounded hill and remembering the concrete wall in Iraq, Captain Rozanski sighed a heart-felt "Damn it!"

He went to Major Choroszewski, to Colonel Peszek, commander of the First Brigade whose job was to attack the hills surrounding the Monastery.

The old "Carpathians" liked the idea, after all their units were only several hundred yards from the Abbey and their highlanders' anti-tank fire was effective and extremely precise at a distance up to 9,500 feet.

The only trouble was that those men could clamber up the hill at night whereas an anti-tank gun is not a mule with hoofs that can feel out the path, but rather an inert mass weighing two and a half tons.

They walked up and down; they meditated, they walked again, and again they meditated.

How could they catch the Germans unawares by introducing a new and unexpected fire element!

Col. Peszek suggested:

"What about climbing up Hill 324."

Major Choroszewski and Captain Rozanski reconnoitered the terrain on the 29th of April, 1944.

Reaching the peak of Hill 324, they stopped, their eyes and their hearts pounding under the strain of the effort. It was nothing—only a mile and a half of bends up the hill! First: the mule path to the Indian cemetery. From there, another 800 feet through broken, pathless terrain.

Even the mule paths were narrower than the chassis of the gun. Apart from this, there were hundreds of other difficulties, but that obstacle alone was enough.

Thus they gave up their day-dreaming and went on quietly. A breeze coming from the valley absorbed their perspiration. Complete darkness and silence reigned all about them. Only from behind and below could the patient grating of climbing mules be heard. It was just on time for the daily "unwritten armistice"—when both sides drew supplies.



Monte Cassino Monastery as it looked when the Poles took it on May 18, 1944.

The pulse of both officers was becoming steady. The moon appeared from behind the Monastery, making of its contour a mean black silhouette. The mountain spoke with its ever-ready fire, bringing death and forcing everyone to keep low and look for cover.

"What about towing her to the top of the six pounder chassis."

They started to descend, taken up by the new idea. They had to crawl from rock to rock—after each of those rocks their idea seemed to be more and more of an utopian dream. How could one think of bringing a gun up that mountain, on a chassis narrower than the gun itself when here, 800 yards from the cemetery and away from the path you couldn't even handle the "baby-cart?"

And as they descended the mule path they measured the 60 degree slopes by the effort of their muscles.

"Home" again, they found the youngsters preparing for the "Hannibal-like" achievement of conveying something as clumsy as elephants across the Alps.

"The baby-cart cannot go through," they said, "then you can carry it over."

So at dawn on the 30th of April, 1944 the anti-tank men decided on the "Columbus" task of putting the egg on the table, upside down.

On the same day, Lieutenant Ptasznik, commander of the 9th highlander battery left for reconnaissance.

Lieut. Ptasznik climbed up the hill during the second night and pondered. Quite evidently a two and a half ton gun could not be compared to the "baby-carriage."

"Can't we take the gun to pieces?"—Lieut. Ptasznik wondered to himself.

He returned to his men, and conveyed his idea to the fellows of his battery. They thought it over, in their slow, patient minds.

"The shield, that's nothing, you can take it off."

"It won't help much—only 420 pounds."

"Well, every small part less and . . ."

"The chassis—one ton—the barrel."

"Over a ton"—the staff sergeant disappointed them in a solemn voice.

"What about unscrewing the block."

"Go away, you fool!"

Nobody had ever tried to unscrew the block. It was usually done by heavy workshops in the rear. For artillery men the barrel and the block made one component.

This barrel and the block became a problem for them: after all the block weighed over 800 pounds.

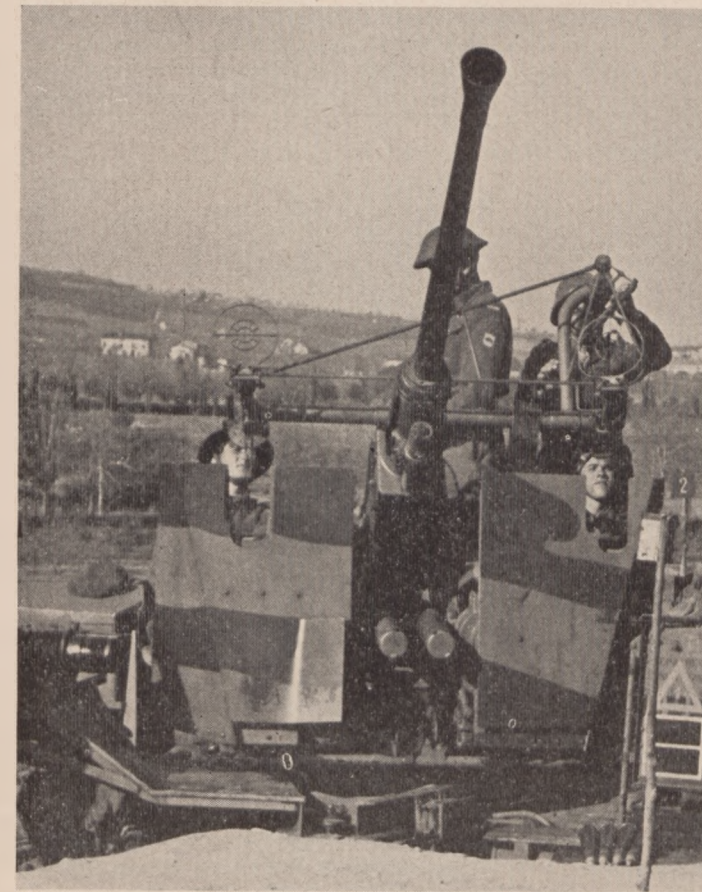
"Nobody has unscrewed it so far! So what! Find someone who has brought anti-tank guns to the top of the mountain! If we have decided to try to tow guns, we can also try to unscrew the block."

They unscrewed it. It was not so difficult either.

On the 2nd of May, 1944, at the "dispersal point" the Commanders assembled a chosen party of men—70 of them—ten of the strongest chaps from each battery.

They formed three parties, each supplied with ropes. They were stationed thus: one party at the "dispersal point," the second half way to the Indian cemetery, and the third, and strongest, at the Indian cemetery at the place where it would be necessary to say "Good bye!" to jeeps.

Two bantams were tied together with ropes. They put the breech on the first bantam and the block of it on the second. The chassis of the six pounder and the barrel were in tow behind the second jeep. The chassis of the 17 pounder and the shield would be taken when the first transport returned. After all, one has to bear in mind that along this path, the mules brought supplies for the division. There were 400 mules that night. The time for the transportation of the first party of guns had to be timed so that the Indian cemetery would be reached before the mules caught up. After the mules



A Polish artillery post on the Italian Front.



This marble monument to the memory of the Third Carpathian Division of the Second Polish Corps who died in the battle for Cassino was erected atop Hill 593 by Polish engineers.

passed, the second transportation with the gun chassis had to be completed before dawn.

But what if the great gun blocked the path at some steep curve and all efforts to move it failed? After all nobody could calculate it precisely.

The decision was clear: In case the gun blocked the road, they couldn't take it back, for that would block the way for the mules and the supplies wouldn't reach the division. The gun would have to be pushed into the abyss.

They had to wait for the moon because it was impossible to guide such a convoy in complete darkness. Behind the wheels were the best and the most experienced drivers—Cadet-officer Wawrzyniak and Private Pustul (They did not show them the road beforehand in order not to discourage them too soon)!

Just before leaving, mortars brought to life as usual by the moon, welcomed this "expedition" with a rain of shells, but fortunately enough did no damage.

The first party strained—they were towing Wawrzyniak's jeep.

His jeep moved, slowly, slowly . . .

. . . slowly, slowly the rope stretched toward Pustul's jeep . . .

. . . Pustul's jeep moved slowly, slowly . . .

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ONE YEAR AGO: ANTI-TANK MEN IN MONTE CASSINO BATTLE

(Continued from page 13)

... slowly, slowly stretched the rope towards the chassis of the six pounder with the barrel ...

... Two courageous "brake men" close to the chassis, pushing it—and the climbing began.

When the jeep wasn't able to take the curves and had to back up, these "brake men" immediately had to brake in order to keep the chassis from slipping back. At the same time, it was of course possible that the chassis would push them all against the wall and run them over.

That first steep curve wasn't so long—the jeep's engines growled and men's backs strained to the utmost trying to lift the terrible weight.

It did not pass! Then, it did!

And at each curve, breathless, exhausted men lifted, pushed, moving bantams and chassis complete with barrels. They hurried as time went by, and there were the mules to think about.

What would the division say if they had to throw the gun off the cliff?

But by the time they heard behind them the noise of 1,600 hoofs—they had reached the Indian cemetery.

They took the barrel off and put it aside. From here on bantams were of no use.

They looked at each other—70 men in all. The parties from below knew that this group would not be sufficient and on the way they collected men who had done their work. They towed with ropes, 200 feet long. When the road was not too rough the drivers went as fast as possible in order to gain speed to take the next deep curve. Breathless men, with lungs working like bellows, ran along the narrow path in front of the jeeps to start towing the car as soon as she reached the curve, to cover the gun chassis and the gun with their bodies, to push, to pull, to jerk the gun up the mountain in excitement, and ecstasy, disregarding everything else.

No wonder that they were amazed at seeing themselves, all 70 of them at the cemetery.

They descended with exhaustion ... they passed the mules, came down and began the next task—the 17 pounder chassis (after all the 17 pounder would not fire from the six pounder chassis on which the barrel had been put).

Cadet-officer Nienartowicz, known for his strength, grappled at the brakes along with small, sturdy, sharp as a needle "Kubus."

When taking sharp curves, they had to brake with a force equal to a ton!

Some infantry troops passing them gave a look full of respect! Man! what guns they were carrying, those boys of ours! They brought the chassis to the cemetery—it was time to take the barrel and the block that had been put aside.

They put a strong rod through the hole in the block, and carried a dead-weight of 880 pounds through the rocks.

And later, helping themselves with sticks, they dragged and pulled the terrible mass of almost 900 pounds for 2,000 feet up the mountain.

When they had carried the barrel and the block, it was nearly dawn and the work should really have been stopped. But the idea of leaving the block with the barrel already turned on tempted them too much. They prepared everything and started to screw it on. What a fairy tale that it was

only a job for the heavy workshops—it was the easiest thing in the world! But ... after making three or four turns it became clogged. They wanted to screw it back—it would not go! The strongest men plus "Kubus" grappled with the poles—nothing doing! Wood from the poles on which the block was carried, had gotten into the furrows of the barrel and blocked it.

During the second night they carried the shield to the position and lifted the chassis. Men started to work with greater care and exactness. In order to unscrew the block a piece of rail was brought from below. The ten strongest men grappled with it. Their eyes were blood-shot. It seemed as if the barrel had moved an inch, but it was only an illusion. They lost their temper and bent the rail.

During the third night, having given up the attempt to unscrew the barrel, two more barrels with blocks and one chassis more were brought up to the cemetery. By now they knew every rock, every curve. They had learned all the efficient grips and tricks.

And finally during the fourth night the chassis was brought into position.

The Abbey in the moonlight—it stood there, menacing, like a haunted monastery. It did not see them. They pressed the guns close to the rocks. They didn't put on the shields as they were big and could be easily observed by the enemy placed so, on the top of the mountain. The guns were covered with muddy camouflage cloth. Both guns rested on Hill 324 like sand vipers, of the same color as the rocks and ready to strike, when their "D Day" came.

And now the men had to look for cover and camouflage themselves as well. The fifth night they dug shelters on the back slope. Since the hill on which they now were was under enemy observation from the Monastery, from Monte Cairo, from Cifalco, no movement during daylight was possible. On one side of them was the camouflaged reconnaissance platoon of the 6th battalion commanded by Lieutenant Hess.

At night they brought ammunition—one "fire unit" to each gun—90 shells. The box, with two loads, weighed a hundred pounds. From the cemetery they carried shells on their backs.

And when daylight came and the Monastery was still in its cloud of smoke, it was time for the final detail: checking position and instruments.

And then all that remained was just to wait.

On the 9th day of May at 22.00 hours, Captain Rozanski, Second Lieutenant Krzyztoporski and Cadet-officer Drelich left for the observation post of the heavy mortars on the slopes of Hill 324. There they waited close to the ground, their comrades at their guns, camouflaged in their muddy rags.

The Monastery began to tremble from the explosion of the heavy mortars—the Germans in it sought the mortar nests and our artillery observer. In the afternoon the enemy guns destroyed the Polish artillery observer's shelter and cut the tree in two.

The anti-tank men too were preparing themselves for the battle. When "The Day" came, it would find them with guns carefully and precisely aimed at 23 targets, consisting of enemy heavy machine guns, concentrations of mortars and advanced observation posts the Germans had on Monastery Hill.

THE POLISH NAVY CARRIES ON!

(Continued from page 7)

Polish ships in the English Channel during the French invasion will not be forgotten soon. These battles, and the numerous military awards won by our officers and men are the best proof of the fine morale that prevails among our crews, who although they have been fighting without rest for over five and a half years, still remain at their posts, con-

vinced that their efforts will result in obtaining for Poland a more suitable access to the sea than before, and which should secure for my country an everlasting unimpeded passage to all free nations.

Milo: Thank you, Captain Morgenstern, in the name of our listeners. I wish to express to you, as a representative of an Allied Fleet, my best wishes to the Polish Navy.

THE VOICE OF THE ABSENT

(Continued from page 3)

Security Council be amended to provide that all decisions of the Security Council be taken by simple majority vote of all its Members including those of the States permanently represented on the Council. Furthermore, that a State which is a party to a dispute should not be entitled to cast its vote on any question relating to the dispute, and that a State should not be entitled to cast its vote when its failure to act in accordance with the provisions of the Charter is under consideration.

3) The General Assembly, according to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, is not granted the attributes of a policy-making body in international problems of the greatest importance, namely, in those of permanent security and the maintenance of peace.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals tend further to reduce the importance of the General Assembly by stipulating that its right to make recommendations should not include any subjects being dealt with by the Security Council. This limitation would considerably reduce the value of the General Assembly not only as a consultative body but even as a debating forum. It should be remembered that the General Assembly is the only body of the World Security Organization in which all the signatory nations will be represented and should have the opportunity of expressing their views. It is therefore a forum of special value for the smaller States, and particularly for those not represented on the Security Council. Any curtailment of the rights and privileges normally enjoyed by Member States on such an international Assembly would seriously limit those States in their effective participation in the task of maintaining security and peace.

The way in which the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals tend to deprive the General Assembly,—the only body on which all the United Nations are to be represented, of equality with the Council, and to limit even its freedom of discussion, is difficult to reconcile with the declared principle of “the sovereign equality of the peace-loving nations.”

The Polish Government suggests that the General Assembly of the World Security Organization be given the right of unrestricted discussion of and initiative in, all questions pertaining to problems of world security and peace.

4) The experience of the League of Nations shows that one of the main difficulties of maintaining peace was due to the divergence of views and interpretations regarding the definition of aggression. It may be useful to remind the United Nations at this stage that the most comprehensive and clear definition was supplied on behalf of the USSR by Foreign Commissar Maxim M. Litvinov and was embodied in the Convention for the Definition of Aggression concluded between the Representatives of Soviet Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan, and later adhered to by Finland. In the Preamble of this Agreement, signed in London on July 3, 1933, it was stated that the signatories, “Mindful of the fact that the Briand-Kellogg Pact, . . . prohibits all aggressions,”

have agreed in Article 2 that: “. . . the aggressor in an international conflict shall . . . be considered to be that State which is the first to commit any of the following actions:

- “1. Declaration of war upon another State;
- “2. Invasion by its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;
- “3. Attack by its land, naval or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State;

- “4. Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;
- “5. Provision of support to armed bands formed in its territory which have invaded the territory of another State, or refusal, notwithstanding the request of the invaded State, to take, in its own territory, all the measures in its power to deprive those bands of all assistance or protection.”

Article 3 goes on to say: “No political, military, economic or other considerations may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression referred to . . .”

In a special Annex to Article 3 of this Convention for the Definition of Aggression, the High Contracting Parties, signatories of the Convention, further stated:

“Desiring, subject to the express reservation that the absolute validity of the rule laid down in Article 3 of that Convention shall be in no way restricted, to furnish certain indications for determining the aggressor.

“Declare that no act of aggression within the meaning of Article 2 of that Convention can be justified on either of the following grounds, among others:

“(a) The internal condition of a State:

“E.g., its political, economic or social structure; alleged defects in its administration; disturbances due to strikes, revolutions, counter-revolutions, or civil war.

“(b) The international conduct of a State:

“E.g., the violation or threatened violation of the material or moral rights or interests of a foreign State or its nationals; the rupture of diplomatic or economic relations; economic or financial boycotts; disputes relating to economic, financial, or other obligations towards foreign States; frontier incidents not forming any of the cases of aggression specified in Article 2.

“The High Contracting Parties further agree to recognize that the present Convention can never legitimate any violations of international law that may be implied in the circumstances comprised in the above list.”

This “Convention for the Definition of Aggression” was freely entered into in 1933 by a Big Power, with seven lesser States. It is to be hoped that this important, realistic instrument of international law will be taken into account by the United Nations in working out the future World Security System.

The Polish Government suggests that a clear and comprehensive definition of aggression, on the lines of the definition quoted above, be embodied in the Charter of the World Security Organization.

THE APPEASEMENT OF VIENNA

(Continued from page 6)

everything in his power to win without going to war. With this aim in view he called a meeting of the representatives of the Four Powers on December 29th. Razumowski, acting on behalf of his sovereign, laid out the facts plainly, calling on Austria, Prussia and Great Britain for an immediate decision.

This meeting, and one on the following day, brought no result. Alexander was on the alert. On January 3rd, 1815, Austria, Great Britain and France concluded a secret alliance to protect the independence of the Duchy of Wrsaw and Saxony in accordance with the Treaty of Paris. The three Powers took upon themselves the obligation of carrying out their intention by all means at their disposal, including the use of armed force. War seemed imminent.

On January 9th, Razumowski and Hardenberg made a counter proposal, demanding that Prussia should renounce her claim to the whole of Saxony, leaving it at Lausitz. Russia, on the other hand, was to renounce her possession of part of Polish territory in Prussia's favor and part in Austria's, and to grant to the Kingdom of Poland a personal union, a constitutional Government, and “an administrative system in accordance with the traditions of the country.” But the war of nerves which had lasted nine days was finally won by Prussia and Russia. On January 12th both proposals were accepted by Lord Castlereagh, a reference having been made as to the system of Government Poland was to have.

A formal note issued by Great Britain said that “for peace and security's sake, Great Britain holds it essential that the form of the Government be peaceable and in harmony with the spirit of the nation.”

Talleyrand's declaration of January 18th conveyed regret that it had been impossible for France to restore Poland to full independence. Under the adverse circumstances France had to submit to the British demands. Russia's note of January 12th by Razumowski and Nesselrode, in reply to the British note, stated that their sovereign's intentions were in conformity with the opinion expressed by Lord Castlereagh to secure for Poland such a system as would answer the justified tendencies of the Polish people. Notes similar to these were produced by Hardenberg and Humboldt.

On the 21st the Austrians made their opinion known. They stressed that the Emperor Francis had been prepared to make far-reaching sacrifices for the sake of Poland's independence; that the part Austria had had to take in the partitions was against her will; but that in the face of the fact that plans for the independence of Poland would have failed, the Emperor could express his feelings in only one way: by “concern for the welfare of his Polish subjects.”

The “hundred days” intermezzo had in no way interrupted the trend of diplomatic events concerning Poland and Saxony. On May 3rd the plenipotentiaries of Prussia, Russia and Austria signed the Treaty by virtue of which the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was to be partitioned as decided.

A POLE FIRST PROPOSED THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS 114 YEARS AGO

(Continued from page 10)

Europe. Nevertheless, every European citizen could be drafted by Congress in time of crisis, but be used only in the defense of European rights and safety. The Congress would divide the costs of every future war among all the member nations, proportionately to their size.

In order to maintain peace and order within nations, a corps of guardians of laws, led by the Patriarch himself, would be formed. Service in this guard would also serve as military training for the future defendants of Europe. Every citizen would have to serve in this guard for three years. In the third year of his service each would receive from the Congress a commission as a citizen-soldier, that would authorize him to visit the "bloody places" of Europe in order to acquaint himself with the weapons stored there. Youths would learn military skill and strategy in school and later during the three year service in the guard.

Every ten years a great politico-religious jubilee would be held in Europe to celebrate the establishment of European laws. All Patriarchs and members of Congress would be required to attend the ceremony held at the shrine of the "God Protector of Rights and Eternal Peace." It would be held there so that members could offer a prayer of thanks to God for upholding peace in the past decade, and to give sanction to European laws either modified or enacted during that period. The period of the meeting would be a time when all former injuries, misunderstandings between peoples and nations would be cast aside and forever forgotten.

As soon as the Eternal Alliance would be brought about, nations could compete with one another and seek glory only through education, law, government, science, art and industry. Outstanding achievement in any of these fields would be rewarded by the European Congress. The cost of such rewards would be borne by all nations of the Eternal Alliance.

Every nation would have only one goal in educating its citizens, that of making every one a useful member of society, of teaching him divine and social law and above all of inculcating in him fraternal love of other member nations of the Eternal Alliance.

"DIED IN ACTION"

(Continued from page 11)

Although we were under constant fire from the enemy, we dug out a grave for the friend who left us forever. Many of us were unable to check the tears and every one felt the burden of a heavy heart.

Indeed it isn't an easy task to render the last service to a dear friend.

We made a modest wooden cross on which we nailed a small board with an inscription in English: "..... a soldier of the Polish Army, died in action, August 20, 1944."

Near his grave are five more such crosses on the tombs of his comrades of arms. The apple-tree under which he was buried certainly will give him some warmth on frosty winter nights and some shade on the hot summer days. And the tears that were shed on his grave will make lighter the earth covering him.

All private possessions were sent to the Polish Record Office in Great Britain.

However, his signet and bracelet remained with him and nobody dared to take these things off his hands.

Cadet Officer H...., who first informed you about the death of A...., died during the fighting in Holland on November 5, 1944.

According to your wish I am sending a Polish eagle from A....'s beret, an eagle which is an emblem of the Polish Army, and the emblem of the Polish Armored Division taken from his coat.

*Yours very sincerely,
A....'s friend, Cadet Officer M....*

Historical accounts of fame won by might of arms that are apt to awaken hostile feelings among nations would be committed to oblivion or presented to youth as terrible memories of the past 59 centuries of barbarism. Under the Eternal Alliance, glory could be won only by defending the rights and laws of all men. Fighting for any other purpose whatsoever would bring the culprit eternal shame and the curse of all nations. National mottoes and coats of arms would no longer bear any devices symbolizing or recalling the bloody system of the past barbaric ages. Thus, all emblems representing swords, lances, lions, eagles, etc., would be replaced by others capable of arousing kindness and nobility.

Jastrzebowski would furthermore abolish capital punishment, instead making the highest penalty for such crimes as premeditated murder, a loss for 50 years of all European and national rights. Prisons in which such persons would be kept would be considered not so much jails as places of refuge from the various dangers to which outlaws are exposed.

From the moment that eternal peace would be established all strifes between nations would cease. From that time on there would be only two sorts of people, good people, those acceding to the laws of God and man, and bad people, those breaking those laws. There would also be but two sorts of nations in the world: civilized nations ruling according to law based on divine commandments and other barbarous nations, ruled by passions such as the desire for bloodshed, seeking personal aggrandizement at the expense of others, desiring property of others, etc. Former hatreds between nations would disappear, leaving only antagonism between civilized and barbaric nations. If the civilized win over the others, then the world will become a veritable paradise, but if on the other hand the uncivilized conquer, then the earth shall forever remain what it has been for the past centuries, a hell of injustice and murder.

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